THE CRUSADER

NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher —IN EXILE—

VOL. 7 — No. 1 AUGUST, 1965

USA: THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

PART II

The power structure of the USA is a cruel force of brutal oppression, exploitation, dehumanization, bloody imperialism and rabid racism. The U.S. Government is almost 200 years old and it

has never been humane enough to extend ordinary and simple justice to the Afro-American. It has made a mockery of its own Constitution. It blatantly and contemptuously refuses to honor its signature to the United Nations Human Rights Charter. It allows its black citizens to be gassed, clubbed, bombed and savagely mur-

dered for prayerfully petitioning for human rights. Its F.B.I. and Justice Department reek with sympathy for, and render aid and comfort to racist terrorists who maim and murder black Americans with impunity. As far as black humanity is concerned, U.S. jurisprudence is predicated on a racist kangaroo court system that respects the rights of common street dogs more than those of black humanity. The Afro-American has less chance for justice fair play and human rights under the present rabidly racist power structure than a new born lamb in a hungry wolf's den.

If racist America had any capacity for pangs of conscience on behalf of our dehumanized and brutally oppresed people, it most certainly would have manifested itself in some more tangible form than what we have experienced in almost 200 years under the present government. The downtrodden Afro-American has been loyal unto death to racist America through all its wars and crises. The Afro-American has retained faith in racist America's promises of justice, freedom and equality because faith was his only consolation in a painful situation that he seemed powerless to alleviate. The demoralized, pitiful, ignorant and helpless Afro-American accomodated his personality to the obsequious adjustment of survival. Consequently, he became a subhuman in a society that brazenly and hypocritically prided itself on being a great exemplary democracy, highly respectful of the rights of man and dedicated to the construction of a Christian and affluent society.

The black American captive has begged and prayed for freedom ever since he was first brought in chains to the new world. It is mere elementary logic that the brutally oppressed cannot achieve liberty and justice primarily from the benevolence of the slave master. The slave master has a vested interest in the continuance of exploitation rights that result in the dehumanization of the slave. He is afraid of the unbound slave. He is afraid of the subhuman passion that he has created in the personality that he has so effectively warped. He must rely on the opium of hope that forever keeps the slave in a twilight state of a fantasy more palatable to the oppressed than the hard cold logic of reality. The reality of the matter is the hard fact that those who would be free must shoulder the major burden of painful and ardous struggle themselves. Oppressors never relinquish their strangle hold on the oppressed voluntarily. When oppressors find their position to no longer be tenable, they cunningly and hypocritically, in the face of force or the fear of force, attempt a strategic retreat in an effort to salvage as much as possible under the disguise of humanitarian concessions.

On the human rights front today, the power structure cunningly pretends to be making civil rights concessions to Afro-Americans on the basis of a great new spirit of white benevolence. What a farce! The power structure and their pacifist apologists would have us believe that nonviolence and love are bringing about a transition on the part of racist masters of the oppressive society. They would have us believe that the ruthless and barbaric power structure is civilized and humane enough to respond to nonviolent demonstrations and peaceful petitioning. The fact of the matter is that the Afro-American is becoming more revolutionary and justly violent in his demands for human rights. He is losing faith in empty promises. He is losing faith in nonviólence. The growing strength of the liberation forces of the world is beginning to embolden him. He is beginning to see his struggle as a part of a universal struggle against an international racist oppressor and imperialist. He no longer sees himself as a helpless minority, but belonging to a

winning majority. He can see and is more and more convinced that the white racist power structure is far from invincible. He can see that those inspired with the cause of freedom can overcome the mightiest of obstacles and defeat the most modern of weapons of death with simple and sometimes crude arms in the hands of what the oppressor likes to call ragtag terrorist bands.

Millons of dollars are being dumped into Afro-American communities to convert our people to pacifism. Our people are ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-educated and the victims of wanton police brutality and kangaroo court injustice, yet these millons are not earmarked to improve the lot of our suffering, dehumanized masses, but for nonviolent workshops and race relations designed to maintain a more subtle form of white supremacy, under the deception of possible integration based on moral persuasion. In regards to militancy and self-defense the power structure and their apologists are endeavoring to keep the collective mentality of our people in a shameful state of narcosis. Our people are constantly reminded that to resort to defensive violence would precipitate inevitable extermination of the race. We are constantly intimidated by the threat of extermination. We are led to believe that we are helpless and that our deliverance must come through the benevolence of our racist oppressors. We are made to feel inferior and insecure. We are led to believe that our first objective should be the prolongation of our miserable and dehumanized lives, even at the cost of total and abject submission to tyranny.

Once again, I reiterate, for the sake of those who find it exceedingly difficult to face the new reality of a changing world, yes, and for the sake to those who strut and prate about the invincibility of the slave master's power, in defiance of the slave master's self-perpetuated myth. I offer further discourse that today he is nothing more than a self-overrated braggart and buffoon, fearfully living out his last days in a fool's paradise of bluff and bluster.

Let me pause here to stress that it is not my endeavor to violently overturn the U.S. Government per se but to struggle uncompromisingly to abolish the evil it condones and engenders. It is not my intent to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government but to explore its weaknesses, to destroy its myth of invincibility and to advance the study of the potential of a minority revolution. I hope those Congressmen, Senators, witchhunters and members of UnAmerican Activities Committees, who take such great interest in unraveling the mysteries of un-American subversion, will find these concepts to be as American as the Boston Tea Party and the Declaration of Independence.

If the U.S. Government stands in the way of the enforcement of The Constitution, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all the people, then, it forfeits its right to exist. If it stands in opposition to the enforcement of The Constitution, it is an enemy to the people's heritage. If it is an enemy to the people's Constitutional rights then let it fall, let it fall! I do not advocate violence for the sake of violence. I advocate freedom and justice by any means. I advocate defense of The Constitution and especially against its domestic enemies. If it is treason to support the execution of The Constitution, then let treason be charged. Let the oppressor no longer feel secure. Let the Uncle Tom crier for his master's mighty invincibility take note and weep and moan for his master's change of fortune. Yes, the Afro-American can win through violence. Our so-called minority can bring the brutal slave master to his knees. Our people can convert the USA into a vast barren desert.

We prefer freedom through brotherhood and peace, but the brutal nature of our enemy oppressor responds only to naked force. Our oppressor keeps himself on the throne of power by unmitigated violence. Our only alternative is to dethrone him by violence. The power structure of the nation is internally weak. Its imperialist commitments are too widespread in the world. Racist American society is degenerate and soft. Its internal security is based on machinery and massive production. It relies on terrifying weapons of massive destruction to maintain its dominant position in the world. The heart and essential organs of this oppressor and common enemy of the oppressed peoples of the world are easily vulnerable to any potential firestorm that may be sparked from massive social discontent. The Afro-American is a part of his means of production and profit. The Afro-American inhabits his property. Though disinherited, the Afro-American is a portion of the oppressor's population. He cannot wholly and instantly destroy the Afro-American without destroying himself. If he turns inward to destroy a great portion of himself he will lose his international equilibrium. He is in a great dilemma. His power is so extended that his greatest weapon of survival is deception fed on the opium of hope, devoid of substinance. Through deceit and machinations he must strive to keep body and soul together by containing the flames of rebellion to a minimum of sectors to enable him to concentrate terrifying force in a deceptive facade of invincibility. His tactic is to bribe one sector into submission while crushing the other.

Currently, the U.S. power structure is moving might and main to herd the Afro-American into a false alliance of national unity by offering token and ever elusive civil rights. The object of this phony national unity is to create a united front of imperialism and to shore up the cracks of strained domestic relations between the home factions. These are not genuine moves of humanitarianism and brotherhood, but measures based on the expediency of survival. Concessions granted under these conditions are nothing more than short-range and temporary windfalls of bribery. These concessions of token integration will vanish the same as they did after the Reconstruction era in relation to the whims and historical cycle of the unscrupulous slave master.

The racist whites of America are the haves, and they can never truly sympathize and identify with the black have-nots until they feel what it is to be poor, destitute and oppressed. Too much prosperity dulls the sensibilities of the haves in their understanding and dealings with the have-nots. The slave labor and the starvation wages of the masses of the Afro-Americans were major contributing factors in the construction of the affluent society. If the Afro-American so elects he can make the so-called affluent society poor again. He can bring it to its knees, not because of his military power, but because of world conditions and his favorable location in racist America's essential regions. If the Afro-American ever divests himself of the fantasy of hope, based on the deceptive and empty promises of the white supremacy power structure, and if the attitude of "freedom or death" continues to spread and permeate the masses, the present racist and imperialist power structure is doomed.

Could a minority revolution succeed in racist America? It most certainly could! Theoretically, how could a minority segment win if it collectively decided to embark on such a serious course? Total unity would be required among the youth and a strong revolutionary nationalist spirit would have to prevail throughout the land. The

segregationists, the hypocritical politicians and the terrorists have already paved the way for the latter. The spirit of self-sacrifice, selfless dedication to the triumph of a cause greater than any single individual, a feeling of self-confidence in ultimate victory, unshakable courage and identification with the struggling oppressed peoples of the world would be the necessary attributes for the success of a minority revolution.

Organization would require many facets. Groups dedicated to militant demonstrations would have to apply constant pressure to the power structure, create chaos and confusion and force the oppressor to unmask his ugly face before the world by reacting even more brutally and indiscriminately against Constitutional forces. This would expose the true nature of the power structure and inspire greater resistance to it.

Armed defense guards would have to be formed throughout the land. These groups would be organized within the confines of the law and when possible become sporting rifle clubs affiliated with the National Rifle Association. They would function only as defense units to safeguard life, limb and property in the ghetto communities. Some form of central direction would be necessary. A tightly organized and well disciplined underground guerilla force would also have to be formed to perform a more aggressive mission. It would have to be clandestinely organized and well versed in explosives. Its mission would be retaliation and a force used to pin down and disperse concentrated fascist power. It would prevent the power structure from rushing reinforcements to encircle and crush other defense groups engaged in battle against terrorist forces by ambushing, sniping, bombing bridges, booby-trapping and sabotaging highways. A welfare corps would have to be organized to build morale, raise funds, promote legal defense and take charge of the general welfare of the fighting forces and their families. Many of the members of the Welfare organization front would not understand its total function. They would be recruited on a humanitarian basis.

The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. They would work in complete secrecy and would be totally divorced in the organizational sense from the main bodies of defense and other forces. They would enjoy complete autonomy. The group's only tangible loyalty to them would be in times of distress. Their legal aid in court defense would be rendered by Afro-Americans giving legal aid to victims of kangaroo court systems, as is commonly known where black people stand no chance of obtaining justice. This would be similar to, but more vigorous and militant than the NAACP's role. The fire teams' mission would be sabotage. Thousands of these groups would be organized throughout racist America. These teams would consist of from three to four persons. They would only know the members of their inmediate team. They would not identify with the civil rights movement. They would appear to be apathetic and even Uncle Toms. They would sometimes masquerade as super patriots, and be more than willing, in a deceptive way, to cooperate with the police. They would even infiltrate the police force and armed forces when possible, and work in the homes of officials as domestics. There would be no official meetings and discussions, only emergency calls and sudden missions.

The mission of these thousands of active fire teams would be setting strategic fires. They could render America's cities and countryside impotent. They could travel from city to city placing lighted candles covered by large paper bags in America's forests, and have

time to be far removed from the scene by the time the lighted candle burned to the dried leaves. While unsparingly setting the torch to everything that would burn in the cities, and while concentrating on urban guerilla warfare, the rural countryside would not be neglected. Aside from the devastating damage that could be visited upon the countryside, such a mission could serve a twofold purpose. It would also divert enemy forces from the urban centers. State forces would be forced to spread their ranks and would not be able to sustain massive troop concentrations in a single community. The heat and smoke generated from the fires would render some of the highways impassable to repressive troop reinforcements. The rural countryside covers vast areas and would require exhaustive man power, equipment and security forces. America cannot afford to allow its rich timber resources and crops to go up in smoke. The fire teams roving in automobiles would find unguarded rural objectives even more accessable. A few teams could start miles and miles of fires from one city to the other. The psychological impact would be tremendous. By day the billowing smoke would be seen for miles. By night the entire sky would reflect reddish flames that would elicit panic and a feeling of impending doom. Operating in teams of twos or threes, one freedom fighter could pour gasoline or lighter fluid from a small flask into public waste paper baskets, another could later enter and toss a lighted cigarette in the same container. Near closing time kitchen matches could be placed in the air conditioning systems of industrial and public buildings. The property of racists would be designated as priority objectives. Through this method, the racist opressors could be reduced to poverty in a short span of time.

These fire teams could also go on pre-dawn missions just before the morning rush for work. Their objective would be to spread tacks fitted with wire bases to insure their upright position when thrown from a moving automobile in heavily travelled tunnels and freeways. Pure havoc would ensue. Sugar or sand in gas tanks could be used to knock out the engines of public vehicles. During police invasions of the ghetto, lye and acid bombs could be thrown from roof tops. Many forms of booby traps could be utilized.

Yes, a minority revolution could succeed in racist America. It could succeed because the winds of rebellion are rising against the racist oppressor throughout the world. It could triumph because the Afro-American struggle is part and parcel of the universal liberation struggle. It must be handled as such. It is only natural that the power structure would like to keep it isolated and provincial. The enemy's tactic is to divide and conquer. The Afro-American has sought to join the white American league since first arriving in chains in the new world. He has been brutally rejected. The racist whites have made it plain, in no uncertain terms, that the black American is never to be fully accepted in the main stream of the so-called great society. It is as natural as water seeking its level for the Afro-American to turn to the oppressed peoples of the world to make common cause in the universal revolution for freedom and human dignity. What greater indication do we need, than centuries of barbaric oppression, that the U.S. power structure is our natural enemy?

With or without a common cause with the Afro-American the universal freedom forces are going to triumph over U.S. racist imperialism. The question is simply whether or not the black American is going to perish with racist imperialist America as a party to her savage crimes against oppressed and progressive human-

nity or whether he is going to contribute to the great victory of revolutionary humanity destined to fulfill its historical role.

In summary, let it be made clear that I am not advocating a minority revolution. I am merely exploring certain theoretical potentials as an alternative to passive submission to proposed genocide as projected by the racist, fascist and terrorist white groups now growing by leaps and bounds in the racist and imperialist USA. I hope that others, who are genuinely interested in the survival of black people in racist America, will analyze, debate and contribute to this thesis in a way that our people need never fear extermination under racial tyranny and fascism.

Each year rioting, as a result of police brutality and oppression, becomes more extensive and ferocious. We can neither pray nor hope our way out of this difficult situation. We must defend ourselves. We must fight, and we must fight to win. We must also consider the immediate necessity of effective self-defense and resistance to racist terror. During times of massive rioting too many of our people are forced to fight armed cops and troops with bare hands and stones. Cops and troops must be disarmed and their weapons turned against other cops to obtain weapons of defense. Tanks and armoured cars must be knocked out with molotov cocktails and captured when possible. Bazookas and mortars must be taken from troops and national guard armories to prevent heavy concentration of troops and invasión by overwhelming force. The Minutemen, Confederate Underground and other terrorist groups are arming and training with U.S. Army gear such as bazookas, mortars, hand grenades, machine guns and gas masks. Sub-machine guns are even being manufactured in small shops controlled by these fascist groups. These private arsenals must be located and raided for weapons and ammunition. These weapons can also be used to do extensive damage. Oil storage tanks and natural gas lines could be fired through delayed methods. The oppressor must be forced to pay heavily economically for his police brutality, pogroms, racist court frameups and white supremacy terror.

The racist imperialist is an unmerciful bully when he can control a situation with his sophisticated weapons of death and destruction. On the international scene, he will not hesitate to embark on the world's greatest campaign of slaughter in a desperate effort to save himself. The Afro-American liberation force is the only force in the world secure from fascist America's devastating nuclear force. He cannot use nuclear weapons against his own population, property and cities. In such a minority revolution, racist America's very essence of strength and power would become the Achilles' heel of her security and struggle for world domination.

The advanced technology of the affluent society has made it soft, nervous and hypersensitive. It is a society fearful of the cold realities of life. A society devoid of soul and humanism. A jungle society of dog eat dog, a society of frightful automation that is addicted to tranquilizers. Racist Americans are not psychologically prepared for fire storms, power, communications and transportation failures and long periods without public utilities. The Afro-American has been under siege since the very beginning of his days as a captive person in the so-called New World. Terror is a way of life for the great masses of Afro-Americans. Our people have practically become immune to the fear that flows from violence and brutality.

Such a minority revolution could only succeed as an integral part of the universal liberation struggle. From this point of view, we would not be an isolated minority in racist America, but a highly

concentrated sector of a majority revolution. The Afro-American must take his fate into his own hands. He cannot rely on racist white brutes to dole out liberty like a welfare commodity. His only hope lies in concerted action with his oppressed brothers throughout the world. The racist imperialists are doomed. They cannot muster the power to save themselves. They are morally bankrupt. The vast majority of white Americans are racists who currently indentify with U.S. imperialism. They have been deluded into believing that they have a vested interest in the oppressive and corrupt system. There is more hope, at this stage of struggle, for a rabid wolf than white supremacy orientated white workers allying themselves with racially oppressed Negroes. They are no more reliable in coming to the defense of persecuted Negroes than the German working class was in coming to the defense of the Jews under Hitler. The Afro-American is as alien to the so-called American way of life as a shoe shine boy is to Wall Street. The Afro-American is an outcast, the disinherited of the very society that he helped make affluent. The wilderness that his slave labor cleared; the sprawling cities that he helped build, his rebellious and freedom-starved spirit can make barren and desolate again.

While U.S. strength is spread around the world in a hypocritical gesture of making the world safe for so-called democracy, democracy goes begging at home. Let racist America be apprized of the fact that she can no longer count on a peaceful and united front at home so long as the Afro-American is brutally subjected to racial tyranny. Racism and imperialism are destroying the U.S.A. If her choice is doom rather than justice —if she prefers to emasculate and compromise the Constitution rather than to honor it; then her irreversible choice most surely will be accomodated by the invincible historical tide of justice-loving humanity, gloriously storming the tyrannical bastions of imperialism and racism. Our choice must be freedom or death. We must prepare ourselves to obtain freedom by any means. Let the phoney liberals, the pseudo socialists, and their fellow-traveling avowed racists call us what they will. Our cause is just, our cause is freedom. Let us be labeled anything but pacifists suffering racial tyranny in a masochistic spirit of loving oppressive beasts. Yes, in racist America a minority revolution can succeed. Those who counsel patience and nonviolence, in the face of tyranny and aggression as against vigorus self-defense, are the vanguard puppets of U.S. imperialism, white supremacy and its oppressive status quo. They are foolhardy reactionaries, dreaming their psychotic dreams of a white supremacy slave kingdom, in ivory towers fast submerging in the quicksands of time. Yes, because of the relativity of righteous struggle, a minority revolution in racist America can succeed and bring about the establishment of a just and humanitarian government truly of the people, by the people, and for the people, dedicated to universal peace and brotherhood.

Robert F. Williams, P. O. Box 6185, Havana, Cuba — Telf. 29-2242

NOTICE: Any portion of THE CRUSADER may be reproduced and used by any group or individual so desiring without specific permission.

—PRINTED IN CUBA AS A PRIVATE PUBLICATION—